



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

WHAT SPAIN CAN TEACH AMERICA.

BY NICOLÁS ESTÉVANEZ, FORMERLY MINISTER OF WAR OF SPAIN.

THE great actor, Talma, used to frequent second and third rate theatres, and even amateur theatricals, because they offered the best opportunities for seeing the defects of actors and stage setting. So, likewise, should the colonial powers study the policy of Spain in her colonies, in rare cases to imitate her, but in many to learn wherein her example should be avoided.

The special advantage which modern peoples enjoy consists in the fact that the world is old. If a man needs to acquire the experience of life, nations can and should avail themselves of the experience of other nations, for that is the function of history.

Spain, with more examples before her than the other colonizing nations—for she was herself colonized by divers races—has, in general, exercised little skill in her colonial policy. She learned very little from the foreign colonies that, settling from time to time within her shores, gave to her blood, life and organization—the Phoenician, Carthaginian, Greek, Roman, Gothic, Arab and Moorish colonies. Among the numerous settlers of the Iberian peninsula, there were examples and contrasts of all kinds: Phoenicians, whose commercial instincts led them to establish a hundred factories on her coasts; Carthaginians, also merchants, who carried on wars in order to penetrate into every portion of the peninsula and extend their commerce everywhere; Greeks, who became permanent settlers with their wives and children, whose colonies preserve the artistic stamp of the Hellenic genius even at the present day. The Romans used and abused force to accomplish their conquest, triumphing finally over the Cantabrians and Iberians after a century of resistance; and, although Spain appears to be a Latin nation, and so accounts herself, she does not in reality retain any other legacy from these conquerors than her

language, the foundation of her laws, her military roads and her ruins. Subject to Rome—a condition from which all her misfortunes came to her at that time and since—Spain was the scene of the civil strife between Cæsar and Pompey. For her consolation she produced great Latin poets, like Lucan, Martial and others; learned men, like Columella and Seneca; heroes, like Lucius Balbus; famous emperors, like Trajan, Hadrian, Theodosius.

The invasion of the men of the North in the fifth century was the most peaceful of all. Kelts, Alani, Goths, Visigoths, Vandals and Suevi, though they **warred among themselves**, did not fight against the country. Taking advantage of Roman decadence to invade the empire, these barbarian hordes caused less devastation in the peninsula than the civilized armies of Rome. Far from imposing their language upon the people, they adopted that of the country; instead of plundering the Iberians, they tilled the fields, established families and founded towns.

Although considered ferocious, these peoples really effected a softening of manners and customs; perhaps too much so, for the invasion of the Mohammedans in the eighth century met but a feeble resistance, characteristic of a weak, effeminate and peaceful race.

In the eighth century began the repeated African and Arab incursions. Even the first one spread victoriously over the whole peninsula, without encountering much resistance from the Spaniards, because the Mohammedans respected the religious beliefs and customs of the conquered people. In this way, they transformed the race, invigorating it with new blood, the result being mixture of races rather than conquest. A handful of rebels, who had taken refuge in the mountains of Asturias and Aragon, began to reconquer the territory for Christianity, taking more than seven centuries to regain what had been lost in a few years. When the struggle was over, the blood of the Christians was as much Arabian as that of the Moors. During this long strife, the Spaniards were cured of their ancient effeminacy, and they acquired, by contact with the Arabs, the warlike and chivalrous habits which distinguished the Khalifs and Mohammedan chieftains.

During the Arab period, Cordova was a centre of civilization and culture, where the European Christians learned the Oriental sciences. The Moors set a wholesome example of civilizing toleration; for they everywhere and almost always respected the per-

sons, the beliefs and the practices of the conquered people. The Muzarabes were Christians who lived in Mohammedan cities, just as the Mudejares, later on, were Mohammedans who remained in the cities reconquered by the hosts of Castile or Aragon. The two races intermingled, each assimilating the merits and defects of the other; hence, the Spanish race which conquered the New World was not Latin, but Arab. Nothing could be more improper than to give the name of "Latin America" to the conquests of the Spanish adventurers and soldiers of the sixteenth century.

By the final triumph of the Christians and the expulsion of the Spanish Moors, a new nationality was established. The Spain of the sixteenth century was the most important nation of Europe. The peninsula contained twenty millions of inhabitants, a population which seemed destined to invade the adjoining continent. Africa would have become Spanish in the sixteenth century, if Columbus had not directed the energies of Spain into another channel by his successful voyage. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the peninsula was depopulated and impoverished; whole towns were abandoned by the emigration of their inhabitants to Mexico and Peru.

The change thus produced by America in the destinies of Spain would have been more profitable to humanity, and to Spain herself, if the Spaniards had known how to colonize with justice and wisdom. But the new-comers looked upon the New World only as a field for the acquisition of riches. They did, indeed, people it and Christianize it; but they treated the aborigines in some parts with so much cruelty that they annihilated them, while in others they ruined and degraded them.

Certain Spanish authors have defended their country from the charges brought against it by the historians. They say that the metropolitan government was from the first gentle, paternal and far-sighted; that it established mild laws (those of the West Indies were not so mild as they suppose); that, if it made the Catholic religion compulsory and was guilty of religious intolerance, the reason was that the same conditions prevailed in Spain.

Although wise laws and just decrees were sometimes ordained in Spain, they were of little avail in countries whose viceroys had discretionary power to execute them or not, as they pleased. On the other hand, the accusations that have been brought against the conquerors are as unanswerable as they are sad. They them-

selves and their witnesses confirm the atrocities which are called in question, as may be seen in the narratives and chronicles of the conquest. Even if we reject the testimony of Father Las Casas, whose evident bias in favor of the Indian convicts him of exaggeration, many other witnesses remain whose testimony is absolutely irrefutable. Father Cieza does not state in round numbers how many victims perished, but he gives indirect confirmation, like several other chroniclers, according to whom the extermination of the natives was God's chastisement for their inhuman sacrifices. That is to say, that God punished them for sacrifices which they had ceased to make.

What is certain is that the native races of a great part of the Spanish-American continent continue to exist, while those of the Antilles have disappeared. Shortly after the conquest, it was found necessary to import natives from Florida to San Domingo and Cuba to do the work, because the aborigines of these islands had disappeared. It could not have been a punishment of inhumanity, because the inhabitants of these islands were not cannibals, as has been supposed. In Mexico, however, there had been human sacrifices and even cannibalism. Ferdinand Cortés relates in his letters that his Tlaxcaltecan allies devoured children after roasting them.

The efforts of Cortés and his companions, although excessive in their rigor, were of little avail to force Christianity on the Mexican Indians; a century after the conquest, according to the authentic testimony of the Spanish friars, the natives of Mexico, Nicaragua and Peru continued to worship their old gods, and secretly followed their ancient practices. Their Catholicism was only apparent, a pure formalism, to avoid persecution by the friars and viceroys.

The Castilians were not the only people responsible before humanity and history for the extinction of races in America.

The Portuguese, the French, the English and the Dutch were also guilty. It is, perhaps, for this reason that the distinguished historian, Bancroft, laments the arrival in America of the Europeans, and not that of the Spaniards alone.

The latter, not content with having been sometimes cruel and always harsh toward the indigenous races, disaffected the other European nations by excluding them from all commercial rights in the vast Spanish dominions; even to settle and live in Amer-

ica, a foreigner was obliged to become naturalized. Those who wished to settle had to become Spaniards and Catholics. Such a policy gave rise to an enormous contraband traffic which lasted for two centuries, and to an interminable series of fights with pirates, corsairs, filibusters and natives. The last repeatedly rebelled, and even the American born Spaniards, children of the conquerors and colonists, were from the first violent enemies of Spain, of her monopolies, of her laws. The first Mexican separatist was the son of Ferdinand Cortés.

It is evident that the Americans, the conquerors of to-day, will not fall into the errors of religious intolerance and commercial monopoly, which are unsuitable to these times. Nevertheless, they may make equally grave mistakes by treating the Porto Ricans and the Filipinos in an overbearing or unsympathetic manner. In general, the Anglo-Saxons of both hemispheres hold the theory which divides races into superior and inferior, a theory which is as false as it is unjust and dangerous. Even if it had a solid foundation and a scientific demonstration, it would only be humane and wise to elevate those who are not favored by nature or circumstances, instead of abasing and humiliating them. I foresee that the Americans will have difficulties in the Antilles, especially with the negro race, as they already have in the Philippine Islands, because they believe the natives unworthy of freedom. A great people like the Americans, a people who have cultivated federal principles ever since the foundation of their government, are obliged by self-respect to respect all autonomies. A people who have not self-government are not in the plenitude of their dignity and rights. The republicans of North America should treat all the inhabitants of their new possessions in a democratic spirit, and without humiliating and mortifying any by overbearing conduct. Man does not live by bread alone.

From the punishment of the Spaniards, tardy though it was, the Americans may learn whither intolerance and commercial exclusiveness lead. Observe what has happened at Mindanao. That rich and beautiful country, discovered by Spanish navigators in the sixteenth century, has never been conquered. The sovereignty of Spain has been merely nominal in it. Its inhabitants profess the religion of Mohammed, carried there by the Arabs. On the arrival of the Spaniards, the people of Mindanao perceived

the disadvantage of their isolation, and the great future which the protection of Spain opened to them. They showed a disposition to submit, and asked only for the right to retain their religious beliefs. If that right had been granted, the island would have been a great source of wealth. And what was done? Something truly absurd, senseless, incredible: Spain would not accept the submission of the Mindanao Indians unless they were baptized. They were willing to sacrifice their very independence, but they would not their religious conscience; and, as the friars, the counsellors and even the judges of the governing race, knew no compromise in matters of religion, since the Spaniards wanted no subjects who would not begin by having water poured on their heads, for the sake of a few drops of water we had a war of three centuries with the people of Mindanao Island. Spain had possession of the coasts, but the Indians retained the greater part of their territory, and caused us great losses.

Mindanao now belongs to the United States; it will offer them less resistance than Luzon and the other islands, if the Americans respect the religion and customs of the inhabitants; but, if they try to force Christianity upon them, there is danger of a long and bloody struggle.

By means of tolerance and commerce, the Americans can accomplish in Mindanao in a few months what the Spaniards failed to do in a little more than three centuries.

All the European nations pride themselves upon the record of their ancient heroic deeds; all the peoples of the world have poets who sing of their struggles for freedom and independence; but Mindanao is still waiting for the poet and the historian of its admirable history. The ignorance of its inhabitants, due to the isolation in which they have been compelled to live by the Spaniards, who kept them blockaded, explains but too well their lack of chroniclers and poets. The sons of Mindanao have had more opportunity for sharpening lances than for cutting pens. Araucanian heroism was not sung by the natives of that country, but by Ercilla, a Spanish poet who had fought against them. Among the Spaniards who fought against Mindanao, there may have been fanatics, but there was no Ercilla. It may be that this glory is reserved for the Americans, who will find in Mindanao, not only a very fertile country, but the subject of a poem worthy of Homer. Troy defended herself for ten years, Mindanao for three hundred.

And let it not be said that modern civilization and the practical character of the Anglo-Saxons exclude poetry; let it not be alleged that the Muses have no place in those wild regions; for Art is a force, legends have more influence on the fate of races than history, and history itself is a poem.

May I be pardoned for this short digression and allowed to conclude by declaring that, as a Spaniard, I deplore the reverses of my country; but that I consider them deserved, and that Spain will some day rejoice in them, if the new lords of the Philippine Archipelago will constitute a new factor of universal progress, by establishing true freedom there.

Whether it is made an independent republic, or is incorporated in the United States, the inhabitants of the Philippine Archipelago must at last be allowed to enjoy liberty and the dignity of manhood, which were trampled upon by impure priests and by merchants without a conscience, during the long dominion of Spain.

Let the Americans, then, beware, for the sake of their own dignity and prestige before the world, lest the outcome be merely a change of fanatics in the Philippines and a change of plunderers in the Antilles.

If such was the result of the Spanish rule, let it be proved once more that liberty is the atmosphere of life, that all races have a right to it, that the United States is not a plutocracy, as they say in Europe, but a true democracy, a model Republic and a great nation.

NICOLÁS ESTÉVANEZ.